Suffrage – 1913

The New York Age 2-13-13

BISHOP HOOD ON DISFRANCHISEMENT.

It is not often that we have a word on disfranchisement and segregation from a man who has played so prominent a part in the past history of the race as that in the open letter of Bishop J. W. Hood, senior Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. His position on the enfranchisement proposition is the soundest that any man of the race has enunciated in late years, and is in accord with that of former Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont, published in the *Century Magazine* last summer, to which reference has been made in the AGE. Timeliness and point are given to Bishop Hood's view of the matter, because to-day in every large center of population in the South the colored people have come to the conclusion that, in order to get any fair treatment in the government and distribution of municipal taxation they must qualify to vote as far as the law of the State allows them to do so.

Speaking on the question of disfranchisement, Bishop Hood says in his open letter:

"I have been so fully engaged with church duties that I have not had time to keep up with civil matters, but my people are so stirred up over this segregation propaganda that silence on my part might be regarded as indifferent. My people regard this as a purpose to degrade and distress them and to dispossess them of their hard-earned possessions. We are told that it will be a benefit to the Negro. That is what they told us about disfranchisement. But we have learned by sad experience that the opposite to this has been the result. Those who say the enfranchisement of the Negro was a mistake do not know how silly their talk seems to one who knows it was not a mistake. If the Negro had not been given the right to vote in the reconstruction period, his condition to-day would have been worse than that of the serfs of Russia.

"The disfranchisement, when it came, was no such evil as non-enfranchisement would have been. After the enjoyment of the elective franchise for thirty years the people were stronger and better prepared to stand the handicap. After years of freedom you can never get a people back to their former enslaved condition. The good white people took a fearful responsibility on themselves when they took from the Negro the power to protect his own interest by his ballot. They made themselves responsible for that justice which God requires shall be administered to all people, regardless of race or color. When we enjoyed the right of self-protection in North Carolina, when we were represented by twenty-four members of the Legislature, there was never a discriminating act against us passed. All the institutions we now have were established while we had our own representatives in the law-making body. The Deaf Mute Asylum, the Insane Asylum, the A. and M. College and Normal Schools were all the work of the period when we had our own representatives in the legislature. Their presence there forbade any discriminating against their race. During that period they carved out for us a Congress District, so that we were able to be represented in the general law-making body. Since the disfranchisement, notwithstanding we constituted about one-third of the people, we have not a single representative in any branch of the State Government having authority to speak for us."

The ballot was given the colored people at the right time. If it had not been given to them at the time that it was it would not have been given to them at all. Now that they have it, it will take as much trouble to get it out of the Federal Constitution as it took to get it in there. That should be as plain to the stupid as to the wise. The States may do and have done much to abridge the right of the colored people to vote and be voted for, but as long as the right remains in the Federal Constitution some colored people will be found in every State and locality qualified and with the disposition to keep alive the right to vote for themselves and for their children.

How valuable this right is and how necessary it is to keep it alive the colored people of Maryland have amply shown in the past twelve years, during which time they have successfully fought disfranchisement in their State and are now fighting with success segregation in their buying and selling and living and renting of property as others do it. The segregation principle is a vital one, which the race cannot accept without consenting to be a part of the citizenship apart, marked and branded and set aside, as the fellahreen of Egypt, the pariahs of India, the lazzaroni of Europe, as the Jews of Russia. The ballot is the best, it is the only, weapon with which the tendency toward segregation can be stayed and the rights of life and property adequately safeguarded. Those who look at the matter from any other viewpoint are as those who look through a glass darkly: they see the thing with distorted vision. The colored people will have, and have had, no adequate protection to life and property in any community, in any State where they are voters, where they are not a part of the law-making and law-enforcing citizenship.

Bishop Hood speaks with the wisdom of experience, which cannot be denied as we can speak, when he says that when the colored people were adequately represented in the legislature of North Carolina they were not molested in their rights of life and property any more than other citizens were, and he could have added that they will never have release from molestation in their lives and property until they are again adequately represented in the legislature of North Carolina. This is a broad statement, but it is justified by past and present conditions in North Carolina. What is true of one State is true of all others, for the principle is the same in all of them.

The "good white people" have taken a great responsibility upon them in disfranchising the colored people of the Southern States. As the lords of the land, the masters by force and fraud, they have undertaken and do what the God of Nations decreed should be done in the liberation and enfranchisement of the colored people, and he will hold them to account as the Lord of lords for the work they have done and are doing in undoing what was done by the sword of Grant and the pen of Lincoln. They need not delude themselves on that point for a moment. Meantime, let the colored people keep alive the right to vote. It is the sheet anchor of their citizenship.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE AND SOCIAL EQUALITY.

Memphis 3-3-13

At a glance some of our suffragist friends may take exceptions to the language of the above headline. But before the last word of this little article is read, the reader will have seen that the circumstances justify even an odious headline—it is not the headline that is odious to The Advertiser, but the cold, clammy facts which furnish the thought here recorded.

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, is in Washington with her clan seeking to offset the effect of the campaign of the Rosalie Jones hikers. Mrs. Dodge believes the cause she represents received a great impetus at the hands of the suffragette hikers-to-Washington when they refused to allow the negro women at Winans, Maryland, to march under the banner of "votes for women." In speaking of this incident, Mrs. Dodge, who is president of the National Day Nursery Association, said, in an interview in the conservative Washington Post:

> Eight years ago I started the first colored day nursery in the country. This was in New York city and was called the Hope Day Nursery. Until the board of managers were able to raise the money for its support I paid most of the expenses. This board was composed entirely of colored women, and they managed the nursery wisely and well. It is the first instance I know of that colored women took charge of a like affair. Some of the members of this board are the most intelligent colored women in the city of New York. About half of them are teachers in the public schools of New York.
>
> From this you can see that I am very much interested in watching this whole question whether or not colored women are to be allowed to participate actively in the suffrage organization. In New York there have been delegations of colored people in the parades. In Columbus, Ohio, a suffrage parade was held, in which there was a carriage with four colored women, who were decorated with badges and colors of the suffragists, and on the outside of the carriage was a huge banner, on which was printed, "The white man made us free in 1866; we will free the white woman in 1912."
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> There was considerable comment on the side lines from the men about this feature of the parade, and it seemed to antagonize a large number of the male voters. The suffragists in New York, who have been trying for some years to form organizations among the colored women, met with considerable success.
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> At a meeting two years ago, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont said that if colored women had the vote they would be equal to the white women. Some one in the audience asked, "Do you mean by that social equality?" and after some hesitancy she replied, "Yes."

Mrs. Dodge observes it would therefore seem that if the suffragists are to be consistent they cannot refuse to let representatives of the negro race walk in their procession in such manner as they wish. "If they ask them to form associations they cannot refuse to let them participate in their parades or meetings," says Mrs. Dodge, who adds:

> In my opinion, one of the most serious practical objections to woman suffrage is the doubling of the negro vote in the South, making the present complicated problem twice as difficult to solve.

Southern people will blush with shame at the bold declaration of Mrs. Belmont, as quoted by Mrs. Dodge, that if colored women had the vote they "would be equal to the white women," and when some one in the audience asked, "Do you mean by that social equality," after "some hesitancy," we are told, Mrs. Belmont replied, "Yes." Mrs. Belmont was born and reared in Mobile, a Southern city. She knows the ideals of the Southern people respecting the race question. She knows the insurmountable barrier between the two races. Hence her expressions are all the more striking.

Permitting negro women to take part in the suffrage parades in some American centers, we believe, will give the "cause" of woman suffrage its hardest blow, particularly in the South, where such truckling to an ignorant and inferior race cannot be countenanced.

But if white women are given the ballot in those States where there are no legal restrictions on negro suffrage, such States for instance, as Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas and Kentucky, the ballot must also be given to negro women generally in those States. And the evil would not halt here. We cannot tell when our grip on the restrictions thrown about the electorate of Alabama, Georgia and other States where there is regulation of the ballot, will be loosened. We need not feel too confident that the present laws of Alabama, which keep the negro out of politics will always be effective.

It is easy to see that "equal suffrage" in the South would dig up more snakes than we could kill handily.

"THE NEGRO VOTE."

Memphis Sun.

"Gideon" writes an entertaining note to the Commercial Appeal to uphold the wisdom of the Southern white man ge-

ting hold of the "Negro vote," whatever that is. Also "Gideon" wants us all to forget the bitter past and set our faces towards the future and our shoulders to the wheel. All of which we found very helpful in the reading and very happy otherwise. 6-27-13

Forty years ago the white men and colored men of the South ought to have gotten together on the ballot; they were living side by side in a common section, tilling a common soil, paying taxes into a common treasury and interested alike in the development in sound government. They got apart largely because agitators on either side were profiting by a division, and also because the white South did not believe in the power of the Federal government over the rights and powers of the states. Conditions are now about the same, but the two races are happily closer together on everything save politics. Perhaps they will always remain somewhat apart in political principles. The colored men believe in the Federal government, in its ascendency always, and in all things pertaining to the operation of public affairs. The white South is baptized beyond recall in the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson, the greatest of all American statesmen. Indeed, they go Jefferson one better in every proposition that came from his great pen; that is by word of mouth.

Why colored men are not enthusiastic over the Democratic party we may now see in the treatment accorded to the great number of them who helped to put Mr. Wilson in the White House. The Democratic party can not hope to have support of colored men without according them representation in the affairs of government. The Sun believes that the Democratic party will never agree to a proposition of this kind. For this reason, and with all good wishes for "Gideon," who certainly means well, even if he aims poorly, we see no hope for the party that has disfranchised so many colored men, securing the undying support of any great number of them in national elections. In city elections, in certain portions of the South, colored men do vote the Democratic ticket. Indeed, both the Mayor of Memphis and the Mayor of Nashville will bear us out in this statement. If they don't care to be brought into the discussion, perhaps we can be borne out just the same.

Perhaps we had just as well say now that it is a mystery to every student of history to explain the touching love of Democrats for the memory of Thomas Jefferson. the first statesman of the New World, as one thinks of the attitude of the Democratic party towards popular rights. We do not believe that Thomas Jefferson would ever have disfranchised a single man because of his color. We remember that Washington, Madison and all the others got rid of Jefferson when the constitutional convention was being help simply because they were afraid of his religious zeal in the cause of the brotherhood of man.

WHEN EVERYBODY VOTES.

If Captain Hobson is elected to the Senate and he succeeds in having the country amend the Federal Constitution so as to require the direct election of Presidents and Vice-Presidents, as he wishes to do; if the protagonists of woman suffrage succeed in having adopted an amendment to the Federal Constitution pushing "universal suffrage" upon the people of the United States, as the protagonists wish to do, what will become of the power of the white people of the South in national affairs? Mont Ad 8-22-13

The Advertiser is not an alarmist; it would not appeal to the prejudice of the people to carry a point in any discussion. We seek only to reach the reason of the sane, and persuade the others. Therefore, The Advertiser urges the people of Alabama to consider carefully this paper's observations respecting the great issue of woman suffrage, and the great issue of changing our ancient method of choosing the President and Vice-President, both of which issues Captain Hobson champions, and in face of which he asks endorsement at the hands of the people of Alabama.

As is known, we now elect our chief executive and his inactive lieutenant, not by direct vote of the people, but we choose electors from each State who in turn cast their ballots for the President and Vice-President. Each State is entitled to an elector for each member of both houses of Congress; this plan was designed to prevent the States of greater population from dominating Presidential elections. It has succeeded well. The Hobson substitute would wipe out this system, and permit the millions of voters in a few Eastern States to dictate to the rest of the country the naming of our Presidents and Vice-Presidents.

Captain Hobson says as a Senator he would vote against Federal legislation looking to the clothing of women with the ballot, but on March 3, this year, he marched in a suffragette parade in Washington. The purpose of this parade as announced was to make a demonstration looking to the submission of "an amendment to the Federal Constitution granting the right of suffrage to women."

The other star leaders of the suffrage cause, such as Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Dr. Anna Shaw, and many men in national life, favor Federal legislation on this subject, and they are bitter against those who oppose their plan. Dr. Anna Shaw is vicious in her denunciation of those sane American women, calling themselves, "conservationists," who do not believe in woman suffrage. Of these millions of good women, she recently said in The New York Sun:

> They are like vultures looking for carrion. They revel in the dark and seamy side of human nature. They are not conservationists. They are destructionists. What are they destructionists of Of justice and freedom, of the dignity of womanhood.

How do the women of Montgomery and Alabama like that?

A few months ago, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, of New York, a Southern-born woman, admitted in a public speech that the term "universal suffrage" included negro women!

The Georgia Woman's Suffrage Association has been granted a charter under and by virtue of the laws of Georgia. The association has for its object the doctrines of "unlimited suffrage"—think of that, in Georgia!

The Georgia body holds its credentials from the National Association of Women Suffragists. It is a part of that national body. It is bound by the official acts of the national body we understand, and as a contemporary says: "As a rule the politics of the Woman's National Association are at variance with Southern ideals and sentiments." Miss Jane Addams, the moving spirit of that body, like Theodore Roosevelt, is thoroughly pro-negro in all of her political ideals, and detests us Southerners for our old-fashioned notions on that subject.

Thus it is easily seen that the whole movement of the suffragettes contemplates as much the enfranchisement of negro women as white women—that is the truth of the matter.

So, with "universal suffrage"—consider the term—in vogue, with the country electing Presidents and Vice-Presidents by direct vote of the people, who can be blind to the fact that the populous centers of the East, reinforced by the negro hack drivers and negro cooks of the South, would not sweep before them every great national question on which they voted? The white people of the South would stand helpless in face of the affront.

Captain Hobson chose badly when he picked two of his "issues," and it is no wonder that he seeks now to dodge the suffrage question.

THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT. 10-29-13

We once advised a civil magistrate of ours, a graduate of Harvard University, to write a book on the War amendments and the Federal Supreme Court decisions based upon them that would be a standard legal authority and one of the best services he could render the Negro people. He thought well of the advice, but nothing came of it. Mr. Charles Wallace Collins has written a book on the "Fourteenth Amendment," which is declared by the New York *Sun* reviewer to be "an able treatment of an important phase of our Constitutional law."

The Amendment has not served its purpose to safeguard the civil and political rights of the Negro, because the courts have been antagonistic to the letter as well as to the spirit of it, and because the Congress has failed to enact any "appropriate legislation" to make effective its many provisions. However, there has been abundant litigation based upon those provisions, ranging all the way from a suit to recover the value of a dog in Louisiana to the regulation of graveyards in California.

Of the 604 cases that have been brought under the Fourteenth Amendment only twenty-eight have concerned the Negro, in which the decisions have been that "no discrimination may be made solely on grounds of race or color; leaving a large loophole for evasion of the spirit of the law in the difficulty of furnishing legal proof of the grounds on which discrimination rested."

Mr. Collins, like many other short-sighted prophets who should have others do unto him as he would do unto others, "apparently regrets that the Republican party did not make the Negro, like the Indian, a ward of the Nation rather than a citizen from birth." Former Senator George F. Edmunds, who helped shape the amendment, does not think so even now. If the first section of the Amendment defining citizenship were enforced the four other sections could well be ignored, as far as the Negro is concerned, as his right as a citizen, together with the first section of the Fifteenth Amendment is sufficiently defined and safeguarded by it.

Speaking of the War amendments in the April *Century Magazine,* Former Senator Edmunds says: "These measures were not measures of cruelty and tyranny, but of justice and hopefulness. After the lapse of years it is evident to me that nothing better could have been done, and that nothing done by Congress should have been omitted."

NEGRO'S RIGHT TO VOTE SOON TO BE DETERMINED.

Special to THE NEW YORK AGE. 10-30-13

Washington, D. C., Oct. 29.—There are now before the United States Supreme Court several cases involving the application of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution to the State laws of the South barring the Negro from the polls.

One of them is from Oklahoma, where the "Grandfather Clause" has been made to affect the entire State, and another is from Maryland, which raises the issues of a municipality's disfranchisement of the Negro.

On the decision of these cases depend momentous political considerations. The court's action will determine whether or not the Southern States have a right to legislate against the Negro's suffrage and whether or not the grandfather and other clauses now in effect are valid.

Maryland lawyers, in presenting their brief, take the inconsistent stand that neither the Constitution of the United States nor any of its amendments gives to the Federal Government any right to prescribe the qualifications of voters in purely State or municipal elections. They insist that the Fifteenth Amendment—which is relied on by the opponents of the grandfather clause—applies only to Federal elctions.

BEFORE U. S. SUPREME COURT.

Special to THE NEW YORK AGE. 1-23-13

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 22.—The fight over the constitutionality of the "Grandfather Clause" in the Oklahoma constitution, by which hundreds of Negroes have been disfranchised has reached the Supreme Court from the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit, which sent a certificate asking for a decision.

The lower court, meanwhile, will withhold action upon the conviction of Frank Quinn and J. J. Beal, election officials, under prison sentences for the alleged denial of Negroes of the right to vote at the Congressional election in 1910.

Suffrage – 1913

Women Against Suffrage Inject the Negro Question

Mont ad 4/20/13

WASHINGTON, April 19—A throng of anti-suffragettes appeared today in the capitol prepared to protest to the senate woman suffrage committee against any constitutional amendment giving the right of franchise to their sex. They expressed regret that only two hours had been allotted them in which to present their arguments but they settled down to make the best of their time.

Among the principal speakers to present the view of the opposition to woman suffrage were Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, president of the National Association opposed to Women Suffrage. Mrs. A. J. George, secretary of the Massachusetts branch of the organization, and Mrs. Lucy J. Price, one of its foremost lecturers and workers.

The women also brought with them letters of protest from many anti-suffragists throughout the country. Among them were arguments written by Kate Douglas Wiggin and Molly Elliot Seawell, authors, who condemned the suffrage cause.

Mrs. William L. Putnam, of Massachusetts, read a paper by Kate Douglas Wiggin, the author.

"I cannot believe that the ballot is the first or the next or the best thing to work to," she read. "I want woman to be a good home maker, a good mother and a loyal, intelligent, active citizen, but above all, to be a helpful, stimulating, inspiring force in the world; rather than a useful and influential factor in politics. It is even more difficult to be an inspiring woman than a good citizen and an honest voter.

Mollie Elliott Seawell told the committee in a letter that nineteen states could be counted upon to vote against an amendment to the constitution giving to women the ballot

"The first fruits of this amendment" the letter stated, "would be to admit negro women to the polls when eleven states have successfully defied the federal government in any effort to admit negro men to the polls.

SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH.

Mont adv 6-5-13

If the State of Alabama should ever decide to enfranchise its women it would have to do again in part what it did a dozen years ago, revise the fundamental law of the State. A constitutional amendment granting suffrage to "females" would have to be passed. In other words we would have to revise the Constitution in order to give the white women the privileges of the ballot, such as the white men now enjoy. It is interesting and timely, therefore, to consider for a moment what part the "undesirable" element of our society would play once we meddle with the barriers which now stand between white supremacy and negro rule.

In order to disfranchise the negroes of Alabama in 1901 it was necessary to tread dubious paths in order to dodge the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, the fourteenth amendment of which reads as follows:

> All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. * * * *

The fifteenth amendment to the Constitution reads as follows, as much as we may dislike its wording:

> The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.
>
> The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

When the country amended the Constitution a few months ago requiring the direct election of United States Senators, Representative Bartlett of Georgia offered an amendment to a bill in the House, which sought to carry out the provisions of that Constitutional amendment—he wanted to mitigate the evils of Federal control of Southern elections as much as possible and his amendment to the bill read as follows:

> Provided that Congress shall not have the power or authority to provide for the qualifications of electors of United States Senators within the various States, nor to authorize the appointment of supervisors of elections, judges of elections, returning boards to certify the results of such elections, nor to authorize the use of United States marshals or the military forces of the United States, or the troops of the United States at the polls during said elections.

Notwithstanding this amendment was peculiarly in accord with the wishes of the Southern people, and notwithstanding practically every Southern member voted for it, one Alabamian, Representative Hobson, who favors woman suffrage, voted against the measure.

We make these quotations to impress upon the thinking citizen the fact that the Congress of the United States still retains the prerogative, the absolute power, to meddle with our suffrage laws.

If we should ever have a Congress unfriendly to Southern principles, policies and ideals, and Southern welfare, the South, by virtue of its inferior strength of numbers, would be helpless. We hold the negro out of Alabama politics at this time largely by virtue of a badly strained fabric, which at any day may rip and burst, leaving us in the lurch.

The Constitution of Alabama provides that the following "male citizens" of the United States * * * shall be entitled to register as electors:

> First—All who have honorably served in the land or naval forces of the United States in the war of 1812, or in the war with Mexico, or in any war with the Indians, or in the war between the States, or in the war with Spain, or who honorably served in the land or naval forces of the Confederate States, or of the State of Alabama in the war between the States; or,
>
> Second—The lawful descendants of persons who honorably served, etc. * * * *

And further it is provided that "those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language, and who are physically unable to work, may vote."

Thus the "grandfather' and "educational" clauses appear. The Supreme Court of the United States has never passed unequivocally upon these clauses, which operate in a number of Southern States, but a few days ago the court of appeals of Maryland declared that Maryland's recently enacted "grandfather clause" was unconstitutional.

While the Supreme Court and the Congress of the United States has so far acquiesced in the decision of most Southern States to restrict negro suffrage, it is clear from this reading that the Congress has the power—and might some day have the inclination—to tear down our little play house. And if we seek to tamper with the present provisions of the Constitution so as to extend the suffrage to women, The Advertiser believes we will start more trouble than we can stop conveniently.

If we grant suffrage to the white women of Alabama we will have to go further and apply emphatic restrictions upon negro women. This might cause a test of all our disfranchising legislation. Could we win in such an uneven contest?

"WHEN EVERYBODY VOTES."

Mont adv 8-31-13

For all the amusement Mr. James Feagin Jones of Evergreen must afford the reader with his rejoinder in the discussion of the direct election of Presidents and Vice-Presidents, we are constrained in the outset to inquire of the gentleman if he wants the negro men and women of the South to vote, or does he in his estimates, assume that they will be voters when "universal suffrage" prevails and we elect our Presidents and Vice-Presidents by a direct vote of all the people? The reader will see from a perusal of Mr. Jones's second letter that these questions are pertinent to the issue.

Mr. Jones characterizes as "reckless," "grossly inaccurate," and "widely at variance with the real facts," The Advertiser's recent statement that "Massachusetts alone has practically as many votes as any four Southern States," whereupon he proceeds to enumerate the population of a number of Southern States and of a number of Northern States to sustain his contention that the voting strength of some of the Northern States, as compared with Southern States, has been over-estimated by The Advertiser. This paper has not put voting strength on a basis with population, in its discussion, owing to the vast number of negroes in the South who do not vote.

The total vote of Massachusetts in the Presidential election of 1912—all parties—was 488,056; Texas' total vote was 305,120, but not counting Texas, Massachusetts polls practically as many votes in a Presidential election as any four Southern States, for the reason that suffrage is restricted in most Southern States. Mr. Jones does not deny that New York in 1912 polled as many votes as all Southern States combined—many Southern States restrict the ballot, remember. Illinois alone can almost do as much as New York, while Pennsylvania has about 100,000 more votes than Illinois. Indiana has more votes than any three Southern States—in the South the ballot is restricted, now. Ohio, with its 1,033,556 voters, could practically kill the combined voting strength of the Southern States, not counting the negroes of the South. Mr. Jones, therefore, is trifling when he attempts to compare Delaware with Texas, or Wyoming with Texas, or any of the other smaller Northern States—he forgets that a larger per centage of the population in those States vote than vote in the South, where we restrict the ballot. While we grant to Mr. Jones that the population of Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, North and South Dakota, Oregon and Utah totals 5,061,097, we would remind Mr. Jones that the point we are interested in is the voting strength of those several States, which combined, according to the report of 1912, is—if we added the figures correctly—1,033,942.

On the other hand the Southern States of Alabama, Arkansas, Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina cast in all in the last Presidential election, only 1,903,268 votes.

According to the census of 1910 there were 9,828,294 negroes in the United States. As every one knows the bulk of the negroes are in the South, possibly over 9,000,000 of them are in the South. In 1910, according to the census, there were 2,459,327 negro males of voting age in the United States—most of them residing in Southern States.

Negro suffrage is severely restricted in the following Southern States: Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia. We may say that if there are 2,459,327 negro males of voting age in this country, there is practically an equal number of negro females of voting age. "Universal suffrage," according to the leading protagonists of that doctrine, would grant the ballot to the negro women, and Senator Root says Congress has renewed power in the Sixteenth Amendment to

the Constitution to regulate suffrage in Federal elections; there is no doubt as to the power of Congress in that matter.

Now, does Mr. Jones look with favor upon restoring the ballot to the Southern negro? He talks and reasons as if he takes it as a matter of course that the darkies should vote under the proposed new dispensation.

Does Mr. Jones or any other Southern man doubt that with such a premium placed upon the voter as would be the case if we elected Presidents by direct vote, the white voters of the South would be helpless against the rush to get negro votes for the Republican or Progressive party? Does any man who knows the negro believe that the negro, on being permitted to vote, would not do as he did during Reconstruction and vote with an unfriendly party?

How any Southern man, on analyzing this devilish proposition, can advocate it, passes the understanding of The Advertiser. And we say all of this without reference to the expediency or wisdom of the philosophy of a direct democracy, for which, in the light of human experience, and in the light of Jefferson's teachings, we have small respect.

GUARD NEGRO RIGHTS.

Enforce Fifteenth Amendment, Says W. E. Chandler.

PUTS TEST TO REPUBLICANS.

Former Senator from New Hampshire Gives Out Letter Addressed to Committeeman Estabrook—Points to Proposed Reduction of Southern Delegation—Sends Copy to Hilles.

Former Senator William E. Chandler, of New Hampshire, has written a vigorous letter to F. W. Estabrook, member for the Granite State of the Republican National Committee, pointing out the proposed reduction in the membership of the Southern States in the national convention of the party and at the same time calling for the enforcement of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution. He has also transmitted a copy of his letter to Chairman Hilles, of the Republican Executive Committee. Mr. Chandler writes as follows:

"Washington, D. C., May 10, 1913.

"Hon. F. W. Estabrook, New Hampshire Member of the Republican National Committee:

"My Dear Mr. Estabrook—It seems to be taken for granted by reason of the outgivings of eminent and trusted Republicans that there are to be immediate conferences among them concerning methods for reviving and arming for future campaigns of the national Republican party.

"The New York Tribune of the 8th instant states that Chairman Hilles has called for May 24, in Washington, a meeting of the executive committee of the Republican National Committee, and says, 'There is scarcely any dissent from the view that the basis of representation in conventions should be changed before the next nominating convention. * * Prominent members of the party such as Senators Root and Crane, of the conservative wing, and Gov. Hadley and Senator Cummins, of the progressives, are convinced that now is the time to set the party right before the people. Senator Cummins has planned to have a meeting of the progressive leaders of the party in Chicago next week.'

Gardner to Be Chairman.

"It is also understood that the courageous and combative Republican reformer, Representative Augustus P. Gardner, is to be chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee, and to aid in framing new weapons for Republican success.

"The above executive committee meeting called by Mr. Hilles, you will attend; and certainly there will be no member present of superior fitness for giving advice and promoting proper action than yourself; such fitness arising from your experience in connection with our canvass in 1912, your political wisdom, and your lifelong devotion and fidelity to the party you will represent.

"Therefore, I confidently appeal to you to begin the conferences by insisting that the Republican party in state and nation shall prepare for the coming conflict for its regeneration by unequivocally pledging itself to renew its efforts for the enforcement everywhere under the flag, of the fifteenth amendment, which guarantees the right to vote of the colored citizens of the republic, and which the Congress is bound to enact and enforce laws to protect, as the final condition upon which the civil war was to be ended and controversy between the sections to be forever closed.

Pledge to Enforce Amendment.

"The question whether the Republican party will so pledge itself will at once arise at your conferences, and will be continued at all future meetings until the Constitution is either amended or wholly enforced. As surely as the proposition is made to reduce the number of delegates to be entitled to vote in the nomination of a President by the next national convention, and to base the number of such delegates upon the number of Republican votes which have been cast in each state at the previous election, a determined effort will be made to pledge the party anew to enforce the fifteenth amendment. The giving of such pledge I hope you will earnestly favor.

"The question whether there shall be a change in the basis of representation in the convention to arise from the suppression of equal suffrage in the Southern States, and in connection therewith, whether the right to vote at the polls in the Southern States shall be enforced by the nation, has not been absent from the public mind since 1876. It has been discussed in national committees and in conventions, yet the proposed changes in the basis have made no progress. That the Northern States should continuously submit to the presence of 50 representatives in Congress and of 50 presidential electors based upon the colored people, and yet allow the votes of the colored people to be suppressed, seems incredible, but such has been and is the history.

"Whenever the effort shall be seriously made to exclude those very colored people from full and equal representation in Republican conventions there will be quite a debate. Having on July 1, 1880, been appointed chairman of a committee of the national committee to consider the question of a change of basis, I am preparing a history of the subject from that date to the conventions of 1908 and 1912, both of which decided not to make any such change.

Inferences from the Platforms.

"The convention of 1908 declared itself in emphatic terms in favor of the enforcement, in letter and spirit, of the fifteenth amendment, and nominated Mr. Taft, who went on to success.

"The convention of 1912 said nothing on the subject; it only condemned lynchings and favored 'civic duty' and renominated Mr. Taft, who went on to defeat.

"Nothing is of more importance than that the Republican party, about to reorganize for its own resurrection, shall tell why in 1912 it abandoned the amendment. Where did the twin Republican candidates personally stand? Let us have no equivocation in the future. The party from its organization in 1856 practically continued to control the government for a term of 56 years, down to 1912. If it now continues its previous allowances to the Democratic party of the 50 representatives and 50 electors, based upon suppressed colored votes, and confirms the suppression by formally depriving the 3,000,000 of suppressed voters of the privilege of representation in Republican national conventions, it will remain out of national power for a second term of at least 56 years. In recent days Republican leaders have seemed to lament because the American Negroes have been black! How many of those leaders would have been famous or influential if the Negroes had been white? Yours truly,

"WILLIAM E. CHANDLER."

* * *

Letter to Mr. Hilles.

Mr. Chandler's letter to Mr. Hilles is as follows:

"Washington, D. C., May 14, 1913.

"My Dear Mr. Hilles—I notice that you are to hold a meeting of the Republican National Committee, of which I formerly had some knowledge. I do not know whether you favor the propositions of the wise men of Chicago, but I take the liberty of sending you a copy of a letter which I recently wrote to Mr. Estabrook, member of the national committee from New Hampshire.

"I hope your committee will take up in earnest the question of renewed pledges by the Republican party to the enforcement of the fifteenth amendment. Very truly yours, WM. E. CHANDLER.

"Hon. Charles D. Hilles."

COMPULSORY VOTING.

A number of Alabama newspapers are in favor of fining qualified electors who do not participate in every election held each year. The Birmingham Age-Herald looks with favor upon the bill recently passed by the Utah Senate which imposes a fine of $3 on every citizen, male or female, if he or she stays away from the polls. In this connection The Age-Herald says:

> A failure to vote is a failure to perform one's greatest public duty, and Alabama is suffering today from a wholesale desertion of the polls. Over 100,000 white men stand disfranchised in this State today. Instead of offering them money to stay away from the polls they should be forced to go to the polls by means of a compulsory law of some sort.
>
> This State is ripe for a change in the qualifications for voting, and the more the subject is discussed the sooner will public sentiment demand a reasonable solution of a situation that is far from being ideal.

The Anniston Star and Hot Blast, after looking into the skies for some sort of remedy for the indifference of the Alabama voter, comes forth with the perfectly serious suggestion that the paying of poll tax be made compulsory, and then after the man—women don't vote in this State yet—has "voted in all elections during the year," rebate his poll tax money. In other words, let the State hold a man's franchise money in trust for a year, keep him on probation, and if he has been good enough to vote, give him back his money and let him buy gasoline with it.

The Age-Herald is an avowed enemy of the cumulative poll tax system of Alabama, the only permanent barrier between the negro rule and white supremacy.

The Star and Hot Blast is rated as a "Progressive" newspaper, one of those kind that want every public official, high or low, elected by a direct vote of the people, and the kind which longs to see the "government restored to the hands of the people."

The Advertiser is opposed to any measure which in any way will weaken the restrictions thrown around the electorate of Alabama. The Advertiser stands for white supremacy in Alabama, and there isn't a doubt under the sun that the moment we abolish or change the poll tax system in Alabama, that moment will we punch the outer surface off a hornet's nest.

Voting is a privilege, as well as a public duty. We might as well cause the statutes to compel every man, woman and child in Alabama to go to church every Sunday as to attempt to compel men to vote. It is the duty of every man to go to church. It is also a privilege.

The 100,000 men in Alabama who stand disfranchised today ought to be ashamed of their status, but it is their own fault. They have had every opportunity to pay the nominal tax, but civic pride must have been lacking in them. Certainly there is no reason why the cumulative poll tax system should be abolished, and thousands of negro voters given the ballot in order to bring out the votes of an element of society who have shown by their lethargy that they are little concerned over the welfare of their State. It would be an exceedingly hazardous thing to restore suffrage to negro men at this time when an effort is on foot in Alabama to give suffrage to women—when the white women of Alabama get the ballot there is reason to fear that the negro women may also have it.

We had better let well enough alone and try to shame and educate our full-grown men into the duty of voting.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE WE

Western Christian Advocate.

From The Philadelphia Public Ledger we extract the following paragraphs concerning woman's suffrage in the West:

"In view of the contention that the participation of women in elections would be morally elevating and so strengthen the forces of rghteousness that the 'demon rum' would everywhere be driven to its lair, an examination of election results in Colorado and Nebraska is instructive. In Nebraska, where the women do not vote, the 'wets' and the 'drys' fought a drawn battle. In Colorado, where the women do vote, the prohibitionists were decisively defeated all along the line. In Boise, Idaho, where women have had the ballot for seventeen years, a proposal to decrease the number of saloons was overwhelmingly defeated.

"It is evident that there is no such thing as solidarity in the female vote. Those who confidently predict that women would rush en masse to the polls in support of 'sentimental legislation' will be shocked and disappointed. Those, on the other hand, who feared woman suffrage for that very reason, will be correspondingly elated. But if the entrance of women into politics is not alleviatory, where is there any gain, either for them or for the nation, in a grant of the franchise? They are entitled to the vote if they vote as men do, runs the argument, but if they cannot vote from a higher ethical standard than men what is the use of their voting at all?"

If such is the case in the West, with almost an enclusively white population, what would it be in the South, where there is a large negro population?

INTENT TO RESTRICT NEGRO VOTE ADMITTED

Bailey Defends the Grandfather Clause of Oklahoma Constitution.

Washington, October 18.—Frank admission that the "grandfather clause" of the Oklahoma Constitution was designed to restrict the right of negroes to vote as far as possible within the limits of the federal constitution, featured the argument in defense of the clause before the supreme court by Former Senator Joseph W. Bailey.

Mr. Bailey, appearing for the Oklahoma election officials, contended that while the state law discriminated against negroes, it did not abridge any of their rights guaranteed by the fifteenth amendment.

Solicitor General Davis argued that the clause, which provides that no one shall vote who cannot read and write, except those, or lineal descendants of those who were entitled to vote on January 1, 1866, should be annulled as an unconstitutional attempt to abridge the right of negroes to vote. He relied on this contention under the fifteenth amendment, abandoning the argument used in the Oklahoma federal courts that the fourteenth amendment also had been violated.

Suffrage - 1913

BORAH OF IDAHO SHOCKS THE WOMEN BY A PLAIN TALK

Senator Says Fifteenth Amendment to Constitution Was a Blunder in the Beginning

Advertiser 3-18-14

WASHINGTON, March 17—After a vigorous defense of woman suffrage in the Senate today, Senator Borah, of Idaho, shocked suffrage advocates on the floor and in the galleries by declaring it was impractical and impossible for women to obtain the vote by constitutional amendment. He predicted that after fifteen years of vain endeavor, women would renew their abandoned request before the people of the States, because in seeking an amendment to the Federal Constitution they had loaded themselves down with the negro question, the Japanese question, and a dozed other State's rights problems.

"You never will carry the required thirty-six States for a constitutional woman suffrage amendment," said the Senator, "until you repeal the fifteenth amendment."

Blunder At Start

Asserting that the fifteenth amendment, giving the negro the right to vote, was a blunder in the first place, and now a dead letter, not being enforced in a single State, Senator Borah asked whether advocates of the woman suffrage amendment now pending for a moment supposed Southern States would add 2,000,000 to the list of those whom they must disfranchise.

"Violation of law is a bad thing," he added. "It is demoralizing to the negro race to place in the constitution the form of rights that we do not mean to see they shall enjoy."

The fifteenth amendment, the Senator declared, was a blunder, engendered in a spirit of retaliation, with the result that after the first blush of satisfaction the North had connived at the South's violation of it. The amendment infringed upon State rights, and might furnish a precedent for an amendment declaring the right to hold real estate or attend school should not be denied because of race or color.

"I have no desire," explained the Senator, "to bestow the franchise on the 10,000 Japanese on the Pacific slope, or yield up to the Federal government the control of the school question of the Pacific coast. I would count myself derelict to those great Pacific States and to the framework of our government if I were to here set a precedent as to who shall own property in the States."

Central Government.

Senator Borah defended the wisdom of the founders of the republic in weaving into the fabric of Federal government the Hamiltonian ideas of a strong central government with the Jeffersonian ideas of local government. The perpetuity of the government, he said, rested upon preservation of these ideas.

Referring to a recent book by a college professor who sought to show that its founders were opposed to entrusting the government to the people, Senator Borah declared he had as much respect for the hand that handled a bomb as for the hand that sowed seed of anarchy under the guise of a college professorship.

Answering a question by Senator Thomas, Senator Borah said he was in favor of repealing the fifteenth amnedment if woman suffrage could be obtained in no other way. The Idaho Senator and Senator Vardaman engaged in a tilt over the progress of the negro race.

Senators Lane, Thomas and Poindexter spoke for the amendment. No vote was taken and the resolution will come up again tomorrow.

THE SUFFRAGETTES DRAW NO LINES

Colored Women Are Admitted to St. Louis Meeting.

THE LEADERS PRAISE WOMAN

WHO DARES TO ATTEND PUBLIC GATHERING AS REPRESENTATIVE OF COLORED WOMEN OF MISSOURI.

Memphis Sun 4-10-13

(Special to the Sun.)

St. Louis, April 9.—The Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference began its closing session last Friday with its doors wide open to colored women, despite protests of the management of the hotel where the conference is being held that rules of the house prohibited the presence of negroes.

At the close of the meeting Victoria Haley, the colored woman whose presence caused the commotion, was asked by several of the suffragette leaders to attend the conference and to bring several of her colored friends with her. She promised to do so.

Delegate Congratulated.

Mrs. Haley was late in arriving at the conference today, and it was first thought she would not come. When she arrived, however, two of the leaders of the conference congratulated her on her courage.

At the final meeting Mrs. George Bass of Chicago said that the "vested liquor interests of Wisconsin" had defeated equal suffrage in that state by unfair methods.

Mrs. B. C. Gudden, author of several books in German on suffrage, said the German as a rule were opposed to woman suffrage because the question had not been presented to them in the right way. She said that when she conducted a suffrage campaign in Irish districts her workers carried green banners because the Irish mistook usual yellow banners for orange.

(By the Associated Press.)

St. Louis, April 9.—The color question obtruded itself at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference, with the result that the leaders of the cause emphatically vetoed the demand of the management of the Buckingham Club, where the conference was being held, that a colored delegate be ejected from the building.

The delegate attended the morning session, but her presence excited no comment. She sat down quietly in the rear of the hall, listened to the addresses and read some of the suffrage pamphlets that were handed to her. The woman was Mrs. Victoria Haley, president of the St. Louis Negro Woman's Club.

When the conference reassembled for the afternoon session Mrs. Haley again was present. The captain of the bellboys notified a hotel clerk that a colored woman was in the building in violation of the rules of the hotel, and the clerk hurried to the manager, T. J. Darcey, with the news.

Manager Makes Objection.

Manager Darcey started for the suffrage meeting, determined to call on some one in authority to put the woman out. An animated conference with Mrs. D. W. Knefler, state eampaign manager for the suffragists in Missouri, and with Mrs. Davis N. O'Neil, president of the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League, followed. As a result Mrs. Haley was allowed to remain.

After the meeting adjourned for the afternoon the women gave their version of the affair:

"We have rented this hall," Mrs. O'Neil was quoted as having said to the manager, "and that is all there is to it. There might be some question as to the right of the woman to stay if any food were served to her, but she is not being entertained by the hotel."

"WHEN EVERYBODY VOTES."

Mail Adv. 8-31-13

Editor Advertiser:

Your editorial criticising my contribution in defense of Captain Hobson's proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of President and Vice-President by a direct vote of the people, and published in your issue of the 27th inst., is more confusing than explanatory, so barren of argument and so much at variance with the real facts as shown by the census and other statistics, that I must ask to be heard again.

In the first place, I will say that the issue between us is one of facts and figures, not mere bald assumptions and dogmatic statements, with which the editorial referred to is filled. You contend that such an amendment would greatly decrease the South's strength in "the naming of our Presidents and Vice-Presidents," while I take the position that such a provision would not only not give the North and West any additional power in the selection of these high officers, but their strength in such elections would be decreased from what it now is under the electoral vote system, and give the South a material advantage in such contests.

I think I can show that many of the statements and assumptions contained in the editorial mentioned are simply the dictum of The Advertiser and unsupported by facts or figures. For instance, you say: "Massachusetts alone has practically as many votes as any four Southern States." Now this is not only a reckless statement but grossly inaccurate and widely at variance with the real facts, e. g., take the population of Massachusetts based on the census of 1910, which is 3,365,310, while the population of Texas alone is 3,896,542 and Georgia with 2,609,121, Alabama 2,138,093, Tennessee 2,184,789 and Kentucky with 2,289,005, to say nothing of Missouri's 3,293,335. Now will The Advertiser please show by what process of reasoning or arithmetic just how Massachusetts, with a population of 531,232 less than the State of Texas, and with only 756,189 more than Georgia, can poll more votes in any national election than any four Southern States? New York, the largest State in the Union, according to numbers, with her population of 9,113,614, could not, ordinarily, cast a greater vote on a population basis, than Texas, Missouri and Georgia, the combined population of these three States being 9,798,998.

But let us figure a little on the converse side of this issue; let us see if the actual figures does not show that the East and West would lose conidderably by the adoption of such an amendment so far as their power goes in naming our President and Vice-President, and that the South would at least hold its own. To do this let us compare the voting strength of the States of Texas and Delaware under the old and the proposed new system. At present Delaware with a population of only 202,322 has just one-sixth as much strength in the electoral college as Texas with a population of 3,896,542. Whereas, if this proposed amendment were adopted, presuming that each State would be entitled to the same per cent. of votes according to population, Delaware could not cast more than one-fourteenth as many ballots as Texas. And Wyoming, with its little insignicant population of 145,965, which also has one-sixth of the voting strength of Texas, in the electoral college, could not count for more than one-twenty-sixth as much as the last named State in a general election for President and Vice-President. And the same ratio of reduction of strength in "the naming of our Presidents and Vice-Presidents" would apply to many others of the Eastern and Western States, particularly Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, North and South Dakota, Oregon and Utah, the combined population of these last named States being only 5,061,097. Not as great by over 1,000,000 as that of Alabama and Texas. Of course, the voting strength of the several States may vary in proportion to the number of ineligibles in each particular State, but I think it would be fair to assume that the average per cent. of voters in all the States would be about the same according to the whole population, except possibly the few States that have extended the right of suffrage to women and the three or four Southern States that have cut out the negro vote.

I do not pretend to say that my figures and estimates are exact, but they are proximately so, and there is certainly merit in my argument and when The Advertiser characterizes my position on the question at issue as "absurd" and "assinine," I can well imagine that the fairminded and impartial reader will at least say "the shoe is on the other horse."

James Feagin Jones.

Evergreen, Ala., Aug. 29, 1913.

PLAN BITTER FIGHT ON DISCRIMINATION

Negroes Take Grievances Before Supreme Court For Adjudication.

the New York Age

MANY IMPORTANT CASES

Oct. 2 - 13.

Validity of Oklahoma and Maryland "Grandfather" Clauses To Be Determined - Colored Pythians Have Suit.

Special to THE NEW YORK AGE:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 30.—In a dispatch to the New York *Press* the paper's Washington correspondent writes that the Negroes throughout the United States are preparing to make a bitter fight against race discrimination before the United States Supreme Court.

The Oklahoma and the Maryland "Grandfather" constitutional amendments, by which thousands of Negroes have been disfranchised, will be attacked as unconstitutional. An effort will be made to have the Oklahoma "Jim Crow" legislation annulled.

An attempt will be made by Tennessee Negro organizations to be permitted to use the name of "Knights of Pythias" for colored lodges as well as white lodges.

The local ordinances in Baltimore and Richmond, which limit Negroes to certain residential districts, will also be attacked.

Frank Guinn and J J. Beal, two election officials, have been convicted of conspiring to prevent several Negroes

from voting at the Congress election of 1910 in Oklahoma. This was done on the basis that the "Grandfather Clause" was unconstitutional. The Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals has expressed doubt as to the validity of the clause and has asked the Supreme Court to pass on the question.

The Oklahoma "Grandfather Clause" made it necessary for all persons whose ancestors were not qualified to vote in 1866 in this country to be able to read and write in order to vote.

In Maryland damages have been recovered against two election officials who refused to permit Negroes to vote. The officials were enforcing the "Grandfather Clause," which prohibited election officials from registering for voting those persons whose ancestors were not qualified to vote in 1868. This law, however, applies only to municipal elections in Frederick, Annapolis and a few smaller American cities.

The Oklahoma "Jim Crow" law requires railroads there to provide separate coaches for the whites and Negroes equal in every way in comfort and service. Five Negroes seek to enjoin the railroads from enforcing the law. They lost in the lower Federal courts, which went so far as to hold that railroads need not furnish sleeping cars for Negroes if there was not sufficient demand by Negroes for such accommodation. The Federal courts to date have upheld "Jim Crow" laws where provision was made that equal accommodations must be supplied for the two races.

For several years a fight has been waged between white and Negro lodges of Knights of Pythias in Tennessee over the use of the name. The Negroes have brought the question to the Supreme Court, having lost their case in the courts of Tennessee.

DEMAND RIGHT TO VOTE IN FREDERICK, MD.

age 5-15-13

Mitchell Johnson Brings Suit against Registers Who Refused to Put His Name on Registration Books—Negro Citizens behind Legal Proceedings.

Special to THE NEW YORK AGE

FREDERICK, Md., May 14.—The Negro citizens do not intend to be intimidated and denied the right to vote in municipal elections. They have decided to test the law if they have to go to the highest courts in the land. Through his attorneys Mitchell Johnson has filed in court a petition of grievance, having been refused registration last week by the Board of Registers in Precinct No. 1. He asks the court to order his name placed upon the regstry books of Frederick.

Reno S. Harp, one of the attorneys for Johnson, says that the proceedings were not instituted at the instance of any party, but that it is a movement among the Negro citizens of Frederick. He explained that a number of leading colored citizens of Frederick, some of whom are property owners, are behind Johnson.

It is said that the plan of the colored men who are behind the project, if a favorable verdict is not awarded by court here, is to carry the case to the Court of Appeals. Should the decision of the court here be favorable to the Negroes, it is most probable that City Attorney Smith of Frederick, a Democrat, would carry the case to the Court of Appeals.

When Johnson made application to register Charles A. Six and George E. Schell were the registers, one being a Republican, the other a Democrat. They were agreed on the point of Johnson, both feeling that the Maryland law prevented his registration.

City Attorney Smith says that Mr. Schell, the Democratic register, had asked him to appear in the case for him. Mr. Smith said he was unable to say just what the procedure would be. In his petition Mr. Johnson alleges he was born in Washington, D. C., in 1867. He came to Frederick in 1902 and has voted in the county, State and national elections. He says that prior to January 1, 1869, his father would have been entitled to vote in Maryland elections if it had not been for the word "white" in the Maryland constitution. He cites that the refusal of the registers to register him last Tuesday was based upon his race and color.

NEGROES TO MAKE A BITTER FIGHT

To Attack Election Laws of the South.

Wash Times 9-29-13

THEY PLAN COURT ACTION

"Jim Crow" Statute Also Will Be Tested.

Washington, D. C., Sept. 28.—A bitter fight against alleged race discrimination in various parts of the country will be made shortly on behalf of negroes before the Supreme Court.

The Oklahoma and the Maryland "grandfather" constitutional amendments, by which thousands of negroes have been disfranchised, will be attacked as unconstitutional. An effort will be made to have the Oklahoma "Jim Crow" legislation annulled. An attempt will be made by Tennessee negro organizations to be permitted to use the name "Knights of Pythias" for negro lodges.

Grandfather Clause.

Frank Guinn and J. J. Beal, two election officials, have been convicted of conspiring to prevent several negroes from voting at the congressional election of 1910 in Oklahoma. This was done on the basis that the "grandfather clause" was unconstitutional.

The Oklahoma "grandfather clause" made it necessary for all persons whose ancestors were not qualified to vote in 1866 in this country to be able to read and write in order to vote.

In Maryland damages have been recovered against two election officials who refused to allow negroes to vote. The officials were enforcing the "grandfather clause."

Jim Crow Law.

Five negroes seek to enjoin Oklahoma railroads from enforcing the "Jim Crow" law. They lost in the lower federal courts, which went so far as to hold that railroads need not furnish sleeping cars for negroes if there was not sufficient demand by negroes for such accommodation.

For several years a fight has been waged between white and negro lodges of Knights of Pythias in the South over the use of the name. The negroes lost their cause in the courts of Tennessee.

COLORED WOMEN IN DEM ONSTRATION.

3-13-13 age

(BY MAY MARTEL.)

According to press reports there were thirty-two colored women in the woman's suffrage demonstration which took place last week in Washington, D. C. I was afraid the race wouldn't be represented at all. Last fall when thousands of white suffragists marched down Fifth avenue I anxiously looked for women of my own race but didn't see one in the line of march. Colored women can't afford to be indifferent to any move which means progress. Women are going to get the ballot in New York State, and it is only a question of time before they will have it in every State of the Union. Ten States have already accorded them the right. The fight, however, is being waged entirely by the white women. For seventy-five years they have kept it up, and their triumph is near at hand. Colored women have done little, if anything, to help in the struggle.

In the Borough of Manhattan there isn't a single colored woman's suffrage organization. We had one, but as is so often the case, the leader was chosen for her glib tongue and suave manner and the sterling qualities of character necessary for such a post were missing. To-day she is ostracised and the organization which was formerly under the supervision of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, has gone to pieces. We need another one led by a woman whom we can all respect, and who will be a credit to her race and not a disgrace. The colored women should not allow themselves to be pushed aside, if there is any disposition of that kind by white suffragette leaders, but up to the present I don't believe they have shown very much sympathy with the movement or done much except to ridicule it. I know this is true of colored men. It is worth the chance of an unmarried woman to get a husband if she professes to be a suffragist, and the married ladies seem inclined to passively accept the opinion of their liege lords, most of whom are openly and avowedly opposed to "such an unwomanly cause." It brings to mind the statement I heard by an eminent lecturer the other day that there were Negro slaves who were violently opposed to being free.

Unbelievable, indeed it is, but I doubt not that fifty years hence we shall be as incredulous when we hear how Negroes in these times were violently opposed to a movement in a way quite as morally right, and with probabilities that it will be as beneficial to mankind as the emancipation of the slaves.

MRS. PANKHURST.

Gold cigarette cases, lockets and chains and other valuable trinkets were poured into the "war chest" of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst last night at the Institutional church, 3825 Dearborn street, after the militant leader had made her first public address before Colored men and women. Eight hundred people were in the audience. Mrs. Pankhurst was introduced by Mrs. A. J. Carey, wife of the pastor of the church.

At the Institutional church Mrs. Pankhurst said she had added the extra lecture because in Philadelphia a young Colored girl had come to her at the close of her lecture and asked her to give the Colored people a chance to hear what she had to say on the social evil. The lecturer said that in all her travels in the United States she never had met a discourteous Colored man.

Would Lift Up Colored Race.

"Through the vote we will be able to put an end to the degradation of the race," said Mrs. Pankhurst, "and uplift not only the women, but the men as well. The degradation of fallen men is far worse than that of fallen women. The dominator is always more degraded than the slave.

"We are always told the accident of birth should not give any man an advantage over any other man. But when it comes to sexes, the most ignorant and degraded man in my country thinks himself naturally superior to the most intelligent, cultured and high-minded woman.

"This is true not only in votes, but in every walk of life. It is not the value of work, but sex that decides the thing. In teaching, in business, in everything it is the same. American men are being wise in time, and taking matters by the forelock. They are raising the status of the race by giving equality to women. They are preventing the growth of serious problems and of serious social evils.

"Women can make a better claim to citizenship than men if sobriety and morality are counted as qualifications of citizenship and they certainly should."

Mrs. Pankhurst urged the women to remain nonpartisan.—Chicago Inter Ocean.

"GRANDFATHER CLAUSE" UP.

Must add

Charlotte Observer.

The unanimous action of the Maryland Court of Appeals in declaring the State's "grandfather clause" unconstitutional is not final and apparently does not affect even by indirection any other State than Maryland. Indeed this question has never yet reached the United States Supreme Court in such a form that the court had to pass upon it unequivocally. And the court has never gone out of its way in search of such an opportunity. There has within recent years been a general recognition, by Republicans as well as Democrats, of the necessity for restricting the negro vote, even if the Fifteenth Amendment could be circumvented only through clumsy and theoretically undesirable means. It is a matter of incidental interest that one of the three Maryland judges who pronounced against that State's disfranchisement provision had assisted in drawing up this very enactment several years ago.

Louisiana, as is well known, led off with the first "grandfather clause" in 1898. She was followed by North Carolina (in 1900) and several other Southern States. Then there is the "understanding clause" of Mississippi. Every State where a large negro population is found restricts in some manner the negro vote. We may feel assured now that as a matter of prictical politics, with the concurrence of the Republican party wherever the Republican party possesses any strength, there could and would continue to be reasonable restriction quite aside from the formal enactments. We are getting on to that basis in North Carolina as we move away from "grandfather clause" registration in point of time. Louisiana alone has revived or extended this provision, doing so by a small majority and against the better judgment of the State Consequently, if any Southern disfranchisement law gets into the United States Supreme Court, it will doubtless be either Maryland's or hers.

Bradley District Herald Jonesboro, Ark. 1/22/13

There has been a bill introduced in the Arkansas Legislature to disfranchise the negro voters. Will the legislatures not let the people rest? A large majority said last September that Arkansas would not be disgraced by grandfather legislation. One time speaking should be enough. The voice of the people is the voice of God.

Suffrage - 1913

THE CENTURY AND THE NEGRO. 5-1-13

In the November issue of the *Century Magazine* there was an editorial which seemed to bemoan very much the fact that the Negro in the South was deprived of the ballot. In the April issue of the *Century Magazine* it is said:

"A recognition on the part of the new generation at the North that with like chaotic conditions, and under similar hardships, any people accustomed to the ideals and impulses of freedom would resist by every means within, and if necessary outside, the law, such political submersion as threatened the whites of the South."

This refers to the overturning of the Negro politically in the South during reconstruction days. In this last output, *the Century Magazine* puts itself unreservedly on the side of the Southern white man who deprived the Negro of political power.

If a publication like the *Century Magazine* thinks in its way, we are puzzled to know just where to turn.

"GRANDFATHER" CLAUSE ATTACKED IN OKLAHOMA

Mont Adv. 10-5-13

Federal Government Seeks to Prove It Violates United States Constitution

WASHINGTON, Oct. 4.—The federal government's effort to prove that the "grandfather clause" of the Oklahoma constitution violates the constitution of the United States was begun in the Supreme Court today with the filing of a brief by Solicitor General Davis.

The Circuit Court of Appeals for the ninth circuit has certied to the Supreme Court the question of the validity of the amendment to the Oklahome constitution which grants suffrage to illiterates and their descendants who were entitled to vote prior to January 1, 1866.

The solicitor contends that the entire provision is unconstitutional because it violates the fifteenth amendment to the federal constitution guaranteeing suffrage without discrimination as to race, color or previous condition of servitude. The effort of the "grandfather clause," he adds, is to exclude practically all illiterate negroes and practically no illiterate white men.

ANTI-NEGRO LEGISLATION.

Free man 1-25-13

For obvious reasons the Democrats of the Missouri legislature refused to make caucus measures of the proposed bills disfranchising the Negro voters of the State and establishing the "Jim Crow" system of race separation. Apparently the Democratic majority in the State is not quite big enough to take the chances of a gross violation of the constitutional rights of 60,000 citizens so far as disfranchisement is concerned. There are States which have seemingly succeeded in defying the Constitution of the United States through the subterfuge of the "grandfather clause," an insulting affront to the intelligence of all who believe that the government is supreme as compared with the several States.

The above, from the Kansas City (Mo.) Journal, is significant enough. We hope that stricken consciences, rather than an insufficient number of votes, caused the legislature of Missouri to back down from its advertised intent. We are glad to know the race has so stanch a friend as the Journal, and which means many more, its constituents, its readers, who doubtless see things as does the Journal.

It is a lucky day for the Negro race when it finds those for it as well as those against it. One and right is a moral majority. We will think we need but a few avowed advocates only in order to turn aside the too persistent hand of oppression. There is a plenty of prejudice and discrimination in this country coming from the people, unassisted by legislation. When men meet in solemn conclave to snatch away the God-given, man-given, the natural rights of other men, or to make them less, fair-minded men are astounded at the presumption.

Admittedly there was a time when some restriction was necessary. The Negroes were not far removed from the savage state. That day, however, is past. Schoolhouses illumine everywhere. The speaker on the platform, of whatsoever color, tells us that we are coming. It means that discriminating measures should be going. We will look with peculiar curiosity at the body of men that seeks further to add on to what is by way of prohibitory laws for Negroes. We think the world of thinking people will be impatient with bodies of men that seek further to enjoin the activities of any kind of men that are under the protecting influence of the Constitution.

Warring Against "Grandfather Clauses."

The Freeman 10-11-13

The Hon. John W. Davis, Solicitor General of the United States, began a determined war against the "grandfather clauses" in the constitutions of certain Southern States, which have for their object the disfranchisement of colored citizens, without in any manner affecting white citizens of equal footing in money or education. In a brief filed this week with the Supreme Court of the United States in behalf of the government Mr. Davis contends that the "grandfather clause," as used, violates the Fifteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution, because it excludes Negroes from voting because of "race, color or previous condition of servitude." The case in point comes up from the courts of the State of Oklahoma on an appeal, the state courts claiming that no right of the Negroes had been invaded through the operations of the grandfather clauses. Answering this line of defense, the Solicitor-General argues that, "If the disfranchisement of the illiterate Negro were not its purpose, the clause may be declared well nigh devoid of meaning. In practical operation the amendment inevitably discriminates between the class of illiterate whites and illiterate blacks as a class, to the overwhelming and well nigh universal disadvantage of the latter."

The case of the colored Knights of Pythias, contending on appeal for the right to use the name, is also booked for an early hearing in the United States Supreme Court. Both actions will be ably fought out, and it is evident that the race question is to be pretty thoroughly aired with the next few weeks in the nation's highest tribunal. It looks as if, after a long season of waiting, the black man is to have "his day in court." A "battle royal" is imminent.

"WHAT WILL NEGRO VOTERS DO?"

10-3-13

(From the New York World.)

When the Republicans of New York in State Convention approved the plan to "revise the basis of representation in national conventions" they abandoned the Negro at the South. They call it progress. In fact, it is reaction.

New York Republicans offered no objection to full Southern representation in their national conventions when slaves lately freed were in the ascendency. They were not opposed to big delegations from the South when the thieving carpet-baggers were in control in that section. They turn upon the Negro; they invalidate the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments; they cast the Negro south of Mason and Dixon's line adrift at this time because it is the easiest way to defeat the Northern bosses of their own party.

When Charles Sumner gave citizenship to the lately emancipated slaves, for it was he who did it, he persuaded his fellow-partisans that by that act he guaranteed their power. Sumner has been dead for nearly forty years, but the poor remnants of his body are in no more pronounced decay at this instant than his theory that racial and social distinctions could be wiped out by legislation.

The decision of New York Republicans to restrict representation in their national conventions to votes actually cast amounts to approval of the nullification by Southern States of two of the war amendments. The disfranchised Negro of the South is to have no voice even in the grand council of the party which boasts that it conferred upon him freedom and the ballot.

What will the Negroes who in normal times give the Republicans their majorities in various important Northern States say to this proposition?

Editor's Note.—Fight for representation and continue to vote the Republican ticket as the best in sight.

That was a mighty awakening, in a short time, of the Norfolk colored citizens. Three hundred added to the poll tax list! Let the good work continue. 12-20-13.

"GRANDFATHER CLAUSES" AGAIN ATTACKED IN COURT

Mont Adv.

Attorney for Association For Advancement of Colored People Files Brief

12/16/13

WASHINGTON, Oct. 15—"Grandfather clauses" in Southern States Constitutions denying the ballots to those ineligible to vote about 1866 or descendants of such ineligible persons, make Federal constitutional amendments worthless paper, according to a brief which the Supreme Court has before it.

The brief was filed by Morfield Story, of Boston, who appeared for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

He attacked particularly the Oklahoma grandfather clause, which requires such persons to read and write in order to be eligible to vote, but makes no such requirements of foreigners or Indians.

RATES MUST BE CHANGED

R. P. Schwerin Says Trade Conditions Have to Be Met Instantly

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1—A government commission similar to the Interstate Commerce Commission to supervise rate and traffic agreements among shipping companies was recommended today to the shipping trust investigating committee of the House by R. P. Schwerin, vice president of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, as the only feasible means for governmental regulation of shipping. Mr. Schwerin said that government regulation of rates would ruin the shipping business.

"We must be able to make or change a rate on a second's notice," he said, "in order to meet changing trade conditions and in order to compete for attractive freight."

Mr. Schwerin said his line controlled by the socalled Harriman railroad lines, would be forced out of the trade by the restriction against railroad owned ships in the Panama canal act, and would be further embarrassed if Congress passed the Wilson bill, which would in effect, bar Chinese crews from American steamers.

Mr. Schwerin suggested that a government commission, if created, should the power to supervise rate

MRS. PANKHURST TO THE COLORED PEOPLE.

Chicago, November, 1913.

Just before leaving the Institutional church where she made a great speech for woman's rights and also pleaded for justice to the Colored people, Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the famous English suffragette, was asked about her views on racial segregation and replied:

"My soul revolts at segregation whether of the Jews in Russia or of the Colored people in America. In the end such injustices really degrade the perpetrators and their children far more than the people who are wronged. Some day the United States as well as Russia must pay a fearful price for the wrongs done to humanity.

11-15-13 Preston

"My parents had some part in the agitation which culminated in the overthro wof slavery and I am glad that in addition to my work for the rights of women I may aid and encourage the Colored race in the fight it is making against the many wrongs which it suffers in the United States.

"Do not give up the contest for absolute equality before the law. Every form of injustice must be fought to the bitter end. 'Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow.'"

THE QUESTION OF SEX.

Septem-13.

What troubles people in the Southern States regarding this question of female suffrage is "the presence of Negro women at the polls," which they fear as being introductive of a further demoralizing influence. Reliance

Were women to be made eligible voters throughout the country by federal enactment—or by constitutional amendment—the privilege, unquestionably, would be enjoyed by black as well as white. There could be no discrimination of color while that of sex were removed.

The extension of the suffrage to the male ex-slaves of the earlier regime in the South, and to their decendants, has not proved all that its promoters expected; legislation in those States has been strongly directed to the limitation of the right. It is not believed that the admission of Negro women to the polls would benefit the situation.—Boston Post.

Poor White and Poor Black.

(From Syracuse Post-Standard.)

The Maryland Court of Appeals holds by unanimous vote that the "Grandfather Clause" of the election law is in violation of the Federal Constitution.

The "Grandfather Clause" is designed frankly to disfranchise Negroes. A literacy or property test is prescribed

so severe that few Negroes can meet it. Then all whites are exempted from its operation by the provision that any man whose grandfather could vote shall be entitled to the vote. It would require a fine spun argument indeed to prove that this law is not in conflict with the 15th Amendment.

The southern political leaders would show not simply a regard for law, but for fair play and honor by making their restrictions upon the exercise of the franchise run to white and black alike. There can be no quarrel with any conditions that may be imposed to penalize the poor, the ignorant, or the criminal, but it is neither just nor wise that the poor and ignorant and criminal white should be exempt from a law which makes so transparent a pretense at being general in its application.